HAPPY CITY TO YOU TOO!

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Abstract

Aimed at theorizing about the contemporaneity of cities and focusing on them from the perspective of coexistence — and places for coexistence — among citizens, this article addresses idiosyncrasies that exemplarily represent contemporary built environments, e.g., the attractiveness of cities and their provision of happiness, the ever-increasing polysemy intermingling that which is public with that which is non-public in contemporary urban space, and the urban structuration composed of fragmentary heterotopies encompassing a multitude of actors. From the appraisal of these characteristics, their combination, and especially the concerns engendered among urban researchers, this article addresses the role of interpersonal relationships in the context of the city and their outcomes as generators of places of urbanity.

1. Theorizing about the contemporaneity of cities. Contemporary metropolises and the focus on fragmented urban structure

Theorizing about contemporary cities, as presently attempted at the Architecture-Urbanism Graduate Program Lab the Author is connected to in Uniritter/Mackenzie Universities, is highly appealing and greatly challenging. Fortunately, one of the current interpretations for the fragmented metropolis, as that advanced by David Grahame Shane (2011), ends up slightly mitigating this difficulty, albeit concealed behind a slightly rosy screen, thus lessening the damage commonly associated with fragmentation of urban built environments. Shane daringly writes about the background of the fragmented metropolis, its economic and financial causes as well as hypotheses about new morphological architectural-urban settings. As regards the former, he provides an interpretation quite consistent with fluctuations of contemporary capitalism when he associates "[…] urban fragmentation to the collapse of the modern financial system of Bretton Woods, based on nation-states, and its replacement with a new system for global profit-seeking corporations, which then face the problem of investing their profits in urban enclaves demonstrating reliability that they preserve these values" (Shane, 2011:194). To them, he adds background issues triggered by the success of new ventures in urban design, e.g., Battery Park City in New York (Stanton Eckstut and Alexander Cooper), many of which are accompanied by 'special district' policies, where, "in Mrs. Thatcher's Britain and in Ronald Reagan's America, it became possible to insert large urban fragments" (Shane, 2011:194). In addition, as regards the background issues associated with morphological issues, he considers the decisive role played by the publishing of studies, e.g., Collage City (Rowe & Koetter, 1978), proposing a new, more free urban configuration "[…] where multiple urban actors were free to build their fragmentary, utopian designs" (Shane, 2011:203). These ideas ended up endorsing libertarian views on the power of a fragmentary urban design, whose theoretical foundations had been brought up by pioneer architects such as Kevin Lynch and Gordon Cullen. The end of the twentieth century had brought about "[…] the new norm of global development, along with independent state authorities able to aid development and finance (used, for instance, at Canary Wharf,

London, Potsdamer Platz, Berlin or Pudong, Shanghai in the 1990s) […]" (Shane, 2011:200) (Figures 1-4).

Figure 1. Canary Wharf, London, suffered a setback in the beginning, but now is firmly on consolidation course. Photo: Author

Figure 2. Berlin. Reborn from the rubble of war, Potsdamer Platz is now a thriving place of urbanity. Photo: Author

Figure 3. Berlin. The sector under the auspices of Sony Corporation at Potsdamer Platz does not make a bad impression before the modernist KulturForum ensemble in its vicinity. Photo: Author.

Figure 4. From formerly cultivated fields to the exuberance of iconic towers, Pudong fragment experiences Mac's superglue effect in the process of joining Shanghai's urban fabric. Photo: Author.

It is this perspective of a fragmented urban structure that permeates, almost opportunistically, the hypothetical reasoning adopted at the Lab, which harbors a bold interpretation of today's metropolises form, i.e., in light of the concept that its fragments may allude to representations of invented *urban places* and the assumption that the effect of other on them can help to patch the fragments together.

There is clear indication of this possibility and most of it takes place on the spatial dimension as is the case of New Yorkers' unquestionable acceptance of Battery Park City. It is true that it is associated to other dimensions as well, but most of them are expressed in terms of morphological configurations linked to socioeconomic factors. Of great importance to urban research, however, the most vital change, related to the psychological dimension, is that which is substantively affecting human existence in urban spaces: the uncomfortable feeling of oddness permeating today's urban experience. *Urbanites* — a word now defined as 'those which or who reside in a city' — are increasingly more subject to the perception of oddness deriving from their everyday lives in cities: "your city is not my city" seems to sum up a feeling that dramatically resonates from urban social contact experienced in our cities on a daily basis. Obviously, this legacy is not what bygone architects and city planners wished to be the result of past urban interventions. Nor is it our goal for cities of the future. Qua architects and urban designers, we can only hope — and design and plan — is try to provide places for cities endowed with qualities that meet everyone's needs, where each and every one of us can benefit from them both physically and psychologically. Or, more consistent with what permeates this text subliminally, endowed with environmental circumstances in which people can feel and experience the meaning of a *place of urbanity* (Castello, 2010), where its very essence lies in coexisting with others.

2. Contributions of disciplines outside of the field of architecture and urbanism. Variations in the *theory of place* and the attractiveness of cities

While contemporary economists brag about the 'triumph of the city' (Glaeser, 2011) and urban designers herald its doom (Choay, 1994),

architects ironically advise us about "[…] the project for what used to be the city" (Koolhass et al., 2002) and even biologists come up with narratives about some type of transurbanism, a globalization-era urbanism, in which the "[…] design challenge in this context is, instead of trying to create a single public domain, to create an atmosphere for the establishment and coexistence of a diversity of public domains" (Mulder, 2002:10). This is due to the fact the 'transurbanism' city would emerge from the concatenation of various 'locations,' where different cultures and contexts would come together via the media. Based on that, shouldn't we cast the traditional definition of city aside and pursue new urban design theories that can more readily absorb morphological mutations undergone by today's 'fragmented metropolises'? Or, perhaps, wouldn't it be wiser to think up ways to manage a possible *structured network of urban places* (Castello, 2007) or urban 'localities' shaped after what a city was formerly understood to be? Or, yet, shouldn't we try to endorse so-called global standards for the city, to which some contemporary sociologists allude (Sassen, 2001) and which emphasize the power of place in understanding what a global city is? Or, ultimately, shouldn't we reflect on the need to conceive more elaborate philosophical principles conducive to a *New Urbanism* (Ascher, 2004)?

Dismay is obviously not a valid alternative.

Thanks to conceptual contributions from disciplines other than Architecture and Urbanism, it is possible to see a promising movement towards more elaborate theorizations with regard to the contemporary city. And not just about the city. In this eventful turn of the century (and millennium), it is also important to note that considerable variations have occurred simultaneously in other traditional concepts, e.g., the concept of *place*, a concept widely applied in the field of Architecture and Urbanism and known to be transdisciplinary. Amongst noteworthy variations, *place* acquired meanings that resulted in a broader and ampler concept, which has enabled its use even as a keen metaphor for *the city* itself, given the countless number of spatialities it implies. Likewise, there are countless interpretations for the concept of place originated in different fields of knowledge, e.g., the formidable advancement achieved by the field of Philosophy in its understanding of *place* (see Casey, 1998), which, together

with the changes it has undergone in the field of Architecture and Urbanism proper, gives the concept a new essentially *existential* connotation beyond its current *functional* understanding (Castello, 2007).

There remains, however, an uncomfortable unknown: how to manage these collaborations more in line with the behavioral phenomena governing our contemporary society?

Some understanding could derive from tracking paradigmatic stances adopted by major cities, e.g., London, Paris or New York, in order to appreciate their movements as they try to secure their status of global metropolises, along with their constant effort to take the sores of their fragmented fabrics into account.

Global and happy.

Yes, because, as disconcerting as it may seem now, a persistent search for some spark of *happiness* emerges from this struggle, even in those more established cities.

Evidence for this exist and is sufficiently revealing, an incidental example of which can be found in the crowds that gather at the annual International Conferences on Urban Planning and Regional Development in the Information Society (REAL CORP, currently in its 18th edition, to be held in May 2013 in Rome). Although these meetings always address challenging current issues, REAL CORP 2010, in Vienna, was chosen to convene a rather specific discussion on the topic *Cities are attractive!* Dubbed as *Cities for All, Livable, Healthy, Prosperous, Promising vision or unrealistic fantasy?*, the event encouraged more than a hundred presenters to debate the search for a utopian *happiness*, under the premise that cities can pass this happiness on to their inhabitants.

They are not digressing. *City marketing* actions that increasingly accompany contemporary urban operations have become so powerful that they themselves are already enough to vindicate the search for happiness, in tow of today's city planning. And for a good reason. What is presently invested in marketing cities fully justifies the expectation for some kind of return, at least in terms of a more consolidated kind of escapism that cities can provide, a kind of escapism that helps alleviate the dull reality of everyday

life. And it's even more emblematic to note that escapism itself has now become acceptable. The geographer Yi Fu Tuan, who has outstandingly theorized about the phenomenon of 'us and the others and the environment,' in the vein of classical humanist approaches, writes about escapism with surprising conviction in one of his latest books, reminding us in its preamble that "We all like to be special. Yet at a deep level, being special or unique is intolerable. It makes for disconnectedness, loneliness, and vulnerability. Submerging the self in a group, thus escaping from one's singularity, frailty, and openness to change, is a compelling human need" (Tuan, 1998, p. x).

Moreover, the abovementioned international conference, sponsored by prestigious institutions such as CEIT (Central European Institute of Technology, Department for Urbanism, Transport, Environment and Information Society); ISOCARP (International Society of City and Regional Planners) and CORP (Competence Center of Urban and Regional Planning); are also contributing to persistent rumors that happiness is still possible in our present societies and that cities have much to offer to its accomplishment.

Indeed, urban happiness cannot be just another utopia engendered by planners, alongside real estate brokers' sales channels, to attract citizens. Or the other way around. RIBA (Royal Institute of British Architects) seems to be seriously looking into this issue, as suggested by the book 'Building Happiness,' edited by Jane Wernick (2008) and commissioned by this institute. The book brings the views of a varied number of authors and professionals on the pursuit of happiness as a specific political goal and approaches the subject with unprecedented emphasis, providing a set of arguments anchored in the pursuit of happiness in terms of urban behaviors. Interestingly, in most discussions, *city attractiveness* is interpreted as its power to create happiness, which favors the understanding of the production of the city as a qualification and eventually raises the ranking of a city in competition with rivals. And competition, we all know, is not absent in contemporary cities. Advances in contemporary city theory, on the other hand, seem to agree on one point: accepting that the production of new, newly invented *places* (e.g., multiple-use complexes,

themed shopping malls, and reformatted historical areas) has become so important to the pursuit of happiness in the city that it may be nowadays included on the list of factors that regulate city dwellers' everyday existence.

Swiss philosopher Alain de Botton (2007) agrees with that and released the book *The Architecture of Happiness*, which propounds that every architectural style speaks of an idea of happiness. In other words, he writes about how people are profoundly and decisively influenced by the architecture around them, whether at home, work or on the streets. A best-seller around the world due to his peculiar way of addressing philosophical points based on facets of everyday life, De Botton focuses on contemporaneity, albeit without mentioning the extraordinary role played by *the presence of people themselves* in experiencing this new routine. Of the others. Because the style and look of all buildings and objects that fill it are not the sole factors affecting people's sensitivity, humor or even personality. There are other factors such as interpersonal relationships within these environments. Environments of coexistence. Coexistence *with the others*.

It is herein understood that, if confirmed, this happiness should come necessarily associated with the presence of the others in the city. That is, it will be the result of social interactions, more than anything else. Interactions that happen, most of the time, in environments intended for generating *places of urbanity*, as found within the scope of disciplines related to ours: "Architectural psychology, environmental psychology, people/environment studies, human factors of design or psychostructural environics, call what you may, has been concerned explicitly in making better, happier and more humane environments" (Mikellides, 2008:86).

Right, happiness can be the others, but hell is *also* the others.

If resurrected, Sartre would confront Foucault in today's metropolises, and although they could not have known them more intimately, they would display some understanding of the aforementioned theorizing about its contemporaneity. Sartre made the characters of *Huis-Clos* interact confined to the prison space of a closed-doors space, stressing the need every individual has for 'the other' to achieve the kind of social recognition that

allows them to establish their intrinsic identity. It is tempting, then, to extend the confinement of this place to our daily lives, the everyday lives we live locked in the cloisters of a city. On the other hand, Foucault addresses and admires heterotopia, defining it as the use by different ethnic or social groups of a place where 'the others' or 'alterities' converge. Unlike abstract, pure, logical utopias, true non-spaces, heterotopias are real spaces, very typical of the twentieth century, receptacles of a strange mixture of disparate elements and different people apparently gathered for no reason at all (as at shopping malls, museums, major transport stations), from whose interaction, events that "[…] have helped bring a postmodern society into the world" emerge (Shane, 2011:346). Or, in other words, a notably mutant contemporaneity comes about in the cities: the phenomenon of creating *invented places* (Carmona et al., 2003), one of the most visible characteristics of urbanism resulting from this typically multidisciplinary postmodernity.

Heterotopias can contain a revealing component: the city must endure and persevere because at least the others will always bring charm to the city. Because at its root, in its essence, the city is composed of the others; the city is a heterotopia. And as long as humans remain social, the locus of interpersonal relationships, i.e., the city will endure. Shane's viewpoint is quite reassuring when he writes about current urban heterotopias, based on Foucault, i.e., that today's fragmented metropolises consist of a morphological phenomenon represented by extraordinary places, by heterotopias, defined as "[…] often miniature models of an urban ecology, a small city within a city." Moreover, heterotopias could be described as comprising "[…] multiple actors, each with their own spaces and codes, all within one perimeter. […] Multiple actors could interact inside the heterotopia, try new combinations and experiment, without disturbing the whole urban ecology" (Shane, 2011:37-8).

3. How urban design has absorbed extra-disciplinary contributions

One does not have to be an expert in urban studies to notice that today's cities are experiencing a new trend in terms of supply of attractiveness; an increasingly visible supply in metropolises worldwide. There is nothing

intrinsically new about that, though; there will always be something that attracts people to some places for the most unexpected and diverse reasons.

It should come as no surprise to see hundreds of faithful pilgrims flocking to Lourdes, France, for example, simply because it is possible to capture their happiness for being at a place where a miracle was allegedly witnessed. Likewise, in older times, Romans flocked to the Coliseum to watch Christians being butchered by hungry lions just for the thrill of it (that was also a source of happiness to them). Both Lourdes and Rome are considered attractive, albeit due to very different standards. Therein lies the first important truism that sheds light on the subtle difference between emotion and happiness, "[…] thrill not necessarily equaling happiness […]" (Schwartz, 2008:136). The attractiveness of cities, however, craves to foster emotions as well as to promote joy, and both have to do with the pursuit of happiness, a target often included within the ethics of consumption that deeply permeates twenty-first century societies' ideals. To be is to have according to our society's principles. But *being* happy is often confused with *having* something (which, by the way, is quite different from Heidegger's *being*). Thus, cities compete to have attractions to offer visitors and locals alike. This competition has been recognized as of specific interest to urban studies, in which authors, such as Simon Anholt, develop long arguments on this topic (Anholt 2003; 2010). Their arguments basically rely on the notion of brands, which cities struggle to acquire in the course of competing with one another. Actually, competition seems to be on the agenda of today's cities, giving rise to true emblems defining extraordinary places in the global landscape. Some seek, let's say, to mark Paris out as the City of Light, New York as the Cultural Capital of the World, or Rio de Janeiro as the City of Carnival. Evidently, the supply of joy prevails in this competition, that is, cities try to lure people in terms of the level of happiness they are supposedly capable of providing.

Interestingly therefore, high levels of attractiveness are attributed to the amount of 'happy places' they are capable of producing. And it is up to urban designers to create them. One of the most remarkable characteristics lies precisely in the fact that these *happy places* are places where many

people gather, i.e., places where we live with others. They are that which can be construed as a *place of plurality*,

The place of leisure, pleasure, mixture, contrast, 'the others,' differences, i.e., that desired diversity that Jane Jacobs so insistently demands from current modernist planners, or the spatial sociability William H. Whyte has always ardently struggled for, or, yet, even the materialization of spaces that make up the gregarious scale of the central amusement sector designed by Lúcio Costa for Brasilia (Castello, 2007:23, translated).

They are plural places laden with urbanity, a feature seldom worthy of long-lasting definitions, but — always — utterly intrinsic to cities. It is never too late to remember that urbanity can be essentially defined as the qualification associated with the dynamics of existential experiences made possible by people's use of public urban environments, through their inherent capacity for reciprocity and communication.

It is interesting to note the growing concern voiced by some authors with respect to the predominance of the sense of vision in perceiving these urban qualities. It is worth remembering that the participation of tactile perception in imparting some *porosity* to the enjoyment of urbanity is very substantial. Some authors, such as Juhani Pallasmaa, argue vehemently for the manifestation of corporeality concerning the others in the city, assigning a key role to a "[…] haptic continuum of the self […]. Our contact with the world takes place at the boundary line of the self through specialized parts of our enveloping membrane" (Pallasmaa, 2012:12). Pallasmaa claims that "regardless of our advanced technologies, digital communication, and virtual realities, we continue to be biological – or I should rather say – bio-cultural and historical beings," and affirms that "human behaviour and social interaction are essentially spatially triggered and regulated from the unconscious utilization of space to the direct unconscious chemical communication between the glands of persons at close distances" (Pallasmaa, 2009:127).

In addition to that, the public urban environment has changed — and considerably so.

4. The polysemy of the term 'public' in the expression *public space*

Undeniably, one of the most relevant topics in contemporary discussions about urbanism, or better, one of the themes in these discussions that engender the hottest debates, is the new *public living spaces* of cities. It should begin with the understanding of what precisely constitutes a public space these days. This is because, nowadays, seldom is the expression public space attributed the same meaning that was once assigned to it, for example, by the Modernist Urbanism architects. Public-access spaces in contemporary cities include a wide range of features. François Ascher, one of the most celebrated thinkers of recent times, prematurely deceased, claimed that we are faced with a new way of perceiving what is public and what is private, considering that in many situations the public character of a place is conferred on it by social practices that happen in it. Along these lines, he attributes the public character of a place to the phenomenon of a particular behavioral environment having occurred there. Ascher claims that "It is still the 'bystanders' who, by means of their activities and their 'interactions,' endow the space with a public character, especially because of their 'micro-practices' composed of movements, body postures and play, directions of gazes"[1] (Ascher, 1995:257-8). The legitimacy of considering the city as composed of the others is quite clear in this assertion.

Hannah Arendt, the German-American philosopher, attributed to the *public space* the condition of being the specific place where people (in all its diversity: rich, poor, white, black, etc.) could (and must) be seen and heard. The compelling review of Arendt's work recently conducted by the research group led by Tom Avermaete at Delft University of Technology, Netherlands, brings forth, in a disturbing way, how it is possible today to find in Arendt's work the idea that this *public space* does not necessarily constitute a physical *agora* as it did in Ancient Greece, a *forum* in Imperial Rome or even a *Euclidean space*. For Arendt, the public sphere can take many forms. It can even take the form of a *communication medium*; it can be a written medium, a newspaper; it need not involve space; it can bring a huge contribution to local culture, to motivate action, to impart information.

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[1] "Ce sont aussi les 'passants' qui, par leurs activités et leurs 'interactions', dotent l'espace de son caractère public notamment par des 'micro-pratiques' faites de mouvements, de jeux et de postures du corps, d'orientations du regard".

To exercise *urbanity*. And, thus, to create small public spaces where citizens can think together about issues of a shared, collective nature, common issues, public issues, interacting within a whole perceived as a single 'public sphere'. Avermaete brings more food for thought. Invoking Habermas, the author reminds us that mass media is the basic vehicle in the public sphere (newspapers, TV, books), reporting on ideas, demands, protests; the media have the power to bring many people together and empower them to discuss issues of public interest. That can be very disquieting: the Internet, by providing people with the means to perform duties similar to those of the mass media, also allows the emergence of a non-spatial public sphere. Today, more than ever, the space of a square, or the editorial in a newspaper, does not require a fixed spatial location. A crowd can be mobilized in a very short time, an action that some have dubbed 'flash mob crowd' and that the Dutch research group more prudently calls 'adhocracy.' A very exciting point worthy of note is the fact that architects continue to need, almost mandatorily, "[…] to face the challenge of shaping public space – from piazza to Plaza. Indeed, architects are actively searching for answers to these questions, for new forms in which to house contemporary public life" (Avermaete et al., 2009:19). Where to locate the meeting with the others.

5. Gluing fragments together. Fragmentary heterotopia as an element of city attractiveness?

At the end of the day, however, it seems that at least one difference may be pointed: it is possible to accept, more than ever, that happiness is presently for sale in contemporary cities. This is a very typical feature (albeit conscientiously cynical) of urban contemporaneity.

Indeed, opportunities (and opportunism) for putting happiness on sale are superbly seized by large producers of contemporary cities: giant corporations that ultimately take up responsibility for the abundant supply of large — and safe — urban facilities, implanted in cities' routines for good. To contemporary architects, there remains one of the most difficult tasks in the process: to try to keep the supply of happiness in place within a relatively new system of relationships between *public spaces* and *private*

spaces. Because new requirements will continue to emerge, some even imposing risks to the continuity of a mutually beneficial *relationship with the others* in cities. For instance, the English journalist Anna Minton notes that *new places* (*invented places*) are surrounded by many security mechanisms that sometimes

"[…] there are psychological dangers as well in creating places which have too much security and as a result are too safe and too controlled. The problem is that these environments remove personal responsibility, undermining our relationship with the surrounding environment and with each other and removing the continual, almost subliminal interaction with strangers which is part of healthy city life." (Minton, 2009:33)

Nevertheless, there are good prospects.

Finally, it is possible to conclude that:

the attractiveness of cities and their commitment to supply happiness;

the ever-increasing polysemy interspersing what is public with what is not in contemporary urban environments;

the urban structure composed of fragmentary heterotopias, comprising a multitude of actors;

all this combined seductively incite urban researchers' curiosity.

Succumbing to this curiosity causes one to perform some risky (but fascinating) reasoning.

One of them is to think that the city is so strongly marked by interpersonal coexistence that the very interactions that take place within heterotopias eventually cause its energy to 'spill out,' spreading it over its surroundings. (And if Julian Assange does not impose any impediment nor stipulate any ban, it is agreed herein that this new phenomenon be referred to as 'PlaceLeaks'.) (Castello, 2012).

The concluding message is that there will always be room for new places in contemporary cities, places whose genesis occurs rather spontaneously and which are located in what is now called *loose space* (tentatively translated as 'urban voids).' This expression was taken from the book "Loose Space" edited by Karen Franck and Quentin Stevens (2007), which, in a nutshell,

refers to urban spaces where unexpected uses occur, uses that differ from those officially pre-determined for that sector of the city (such as using a sidewalk to trade in goods and services or a brownfield used as a skating spot).

It is quite common to find at the margins of today's spectacular mega-interventions a continuity of the *sense of place* generated by the intervention, which in turn 'contaminates' its surroundings, providing it with liveliness and, perhaps, even *urbanity*. Thus, the energy 'leakage' from a given place can nestle on its interface, occupying a neighboring 'loose space.'

It is not hard to imagine such a situation in real life, as shown by the pictures below (Figures 5-14). In this light, the idea of employing 'PlaceLeaks' as a source of new public places in the city's existing repertoire of places may become feasible in the field of Architecture and Urbanism.

Figure 5. Tate Modern in London, icon of old building re-architecture, spreads its energy as a place of urbanity over its surroundings. Photo: Author.

Figure 6. A 'loose space' around Tate Modern in London, a typical example of *PlaceLeaking*. Photo: Author.

Figure 7. Iconic London City Hall is a typical place for meeting the others for people who crave for urbanity. Photo: author.

Figure 8. The vicinity of London City Hall also takes advantage of the energy leaking from this iconic building, giving rise to the *PlaceLeaks* effect. Photo: Author.

Figure 9. Usina do Gasômetro in Porto Alegre is such a plural place of urbanity that it even welcomes the community for Christmas celebrations. Photo: Author.

Figure 10. The 'energy' (measured in urbanity) of Usina do Gasômetro in Porto Alegre gives rise to a *PlaceLeaking* effect that extends for kilometers. Photo: Author.

Figure 11. High Line, New Yorkers' new darling, is already a powerful and legitimate place of urbanity. Photo: Author.

Figure 12. Whereas underneath High Line, in a vacant stretch of space, urbanity also thrives, established through *PlaceLeaking*. Photo: Author.
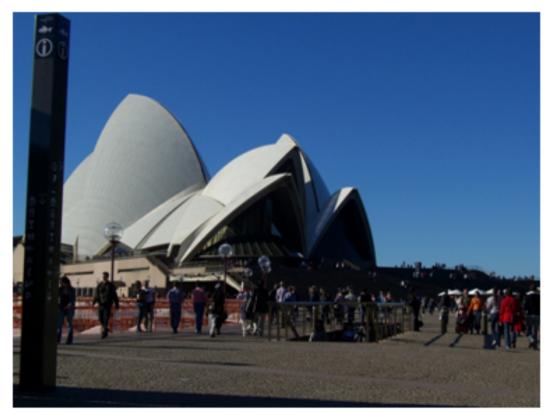

Figure 13. Sydney Opera House is a distinguished place, as we all know. Photo: Author.

Figure 14. Notwithstanding, Sydney Opera House's surroundings are also a place of urbanity, due to contagious *PlaceLeaking*. Photo: Author.

There is speculation, then, that the intelligent use of 'PlaceLeaking' may favor an early response to the problem faced by architects, since they "[…] strive towards new figures in which to accommodate public life, emphasize existing forms in which public life continues to take place, or search for new approaches to changing public practices" (Avermaete et al., 2009:11).

Lastly, there may be a hidden assumption in all that: in the city of a million others, it is possible to spread the energy generated by the interaction with the others to another million others located in their vicinity, with these others capable of generating other places around them. And with the surplus energy from all these places, producing felicity for your city too!

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